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STEPHEN BACHILER

AND THE

PLOUGH COMPANY OF 1630.

BY

V. C. SANBORN.

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STEPHEN BACHILER AND THE PLOUGH COMPANY
OF 1630.

Among the Companies formed in King Charles's time, for colonizing New England, was one, of minor importance and small success, whose real history has never been written. While attempting to present the main facts about it to English antiquaries through *The Genealogist*, I hope to obtain their help in tracing the reason for the Company's existence and the origin of its known agents.

The venture of the *Mayflower* Pilgrims in establishing Plymouth Colony turned the attention of English Puritans, of all varieties of doctrine, to New England as a fruitful field in which to plant their religious ideas. England teemed with small sects, inconsiderable in themselves, but important collectively as representing that departure from the English Church as established by the Tudors and Stuarts, which led to the Civil War and to greater independence of religious thought.

About the year 1629 there was formed, probably in London, a small body of Dissenters called the "Company of Husbandmen" or the "Company of the Plough." These names were perhaps scriptural in their allusion, for the members of the Company seem to have been merchants and artizans, rather than actual husbandmen. Who were the originators of this Company, or what was their special doctrine does not appear. Their chosen pastor was the REV. STEPHEN BACHILER, one of the most earnest, as well as one of the most unfortunate of the Puritan ministers of his day.

STEPHEN BACHILER was born about 1561, and in 1585-6 took his B.A. at St. John's College, Oxford. In 1587 he was presented to the living of Wherwell, Hants, by Lord La Warr, and for eighteen years was Vicar of that parish. A man of strong impulse and an essential Radical, he must early have embraced the Puritan doctrines, for he was, in 1605, ejected from his pleasant vicarage, probably one of the first ejections resulting from King James's Hampton Court Conference of 1604, when the King declared he would "make the Puritans conform or harry them out of the kingdom." Of Bachiler's family and early history, as of his life from 1605 to 1630, little is known. Tradition says he fled to Holland, to escape the persecution by the English Bishops, of which Winthrop's History speaks. This association with Holland may not have been because of religious persecution, for some of Bachiler's children lived there; but a search in the church and town records of Flushing and Middelburg reveals nothing concerning the sturdy old Puritan. The children of Stephen Bachiler, as far as known, were—

1. NATHANIEL, born about 1589. A merchant of Southampton; married Hester Mercer of Southampton, sister of Peter, Paul and Rev. Francis Mercer, and of Jane (Mercer) Pryaulx, wife of Capt. Peter Pryaulx of Southampton. Nathaniel Bachiler left children, Nathaniel (who settled in Hampton, New Hampshire), Anne (married Daniel du Cornet of Middelburg, Holland), Stephen, Francis and Benjamin.

2. DEBORAH, born 1591; married Rev. John Wing (son of Matthew of Banbury, Oxon), first pastor of the Puritan Church at Flushing, afterwards minister of the Puritan Church at the Hague, Holland, died in 1630, ancestor of the Wings of Cape Cod.

3. SAMUEL, born about 1592, Minister in Sir Charles Morgan's regiment in Holland. Called to be minister in Middelburg in 1622, but declined. Author of "Miles Christianus," published in 1625.

4. STEPHEN, born about 1591. Matriculated at Magdalen College, Oxford, 1610.

5. THEOPHILE, born 1598; married Captain and Councillor Christopher Hussey of Hampton, New Hampshire—perhaps a relative of Christopher Hussey, Mayor of Winchester in 1609, 1618 and 1631.

6. ANNE, born 1600; married [John?] Samborne, probably of the Hants family of that name. A widow in 1631, living in the Strand in London. Her children settled in Hampton, New Hampshire.

It has seemed to me that Stephen Bachiler, always a loyal Hampshire man, never could have left for long that county which the associations of his early life had endeared to him. It is certain that in 1622 he was living on a small property of his own in Newton Stacy, but a mile from his old parish of Wherwell; and in the State Papers of 1635 (Domestic Series) we find a petition from Sir Robert Paine, Church Warden of Barton Stacy, Hants, to the effect that some of his tenants, "having been formerly misled by Stephen Bachelor, a notorious inconformist, had demolished a consecrated chapel at Newton Stacy," etc.

But while Bachiler was living in Hampshire and preaching the Puritan faith, the Company of Husbandmen was forming, and they conceived the plan of sending a band of settlers into New England to propagate their ideas. We may believe that, hearing of Bachiler's fame, they asked him to become their pastor; and, though seventy years of age, he at once seized the opportunity and cast in his lot with theirs. His friend John Winthrop was then arranging for his own settlement in New England, and Bachiler doubtless dreamed of establishing there his Colony of Husbandmen, in an Arcadia of religious freedom. Sir Ferdinando Gorges was the principal figure in the "Council of Plymouth," and was one of King James's grantees of vast estates in the New World. To Gorges the Plough Company turned, and on

June 26th, 1630, they obtained by patent a tract of land, the best description of which is given as follows in an Abstract of Title prepared in 1686 by George Turfrey, attorney for the heirs of Col. Alexander Rigby:—

"The Earle of Warwick and Sir Ferdinando Gorges, for themselves and the rest of the Councill of Plimouth by indents dated 26 June the 6 year of the raigne of Charles I, grant unto Bryan Binckes, John Dye, John Smith, and others their associates two Islands in the River Sagedahock near the South side thereof about sixty miles from the sea, and also a tract containing forty miles in length and forty miles in breadth upon the South side of the River Sagedahock, with all Bayes, Rivers, Ports, Inletts, etc., together with all Royalties and Privileges within the precincts thereof."

The terms of this patent were broad, and, as in other cases, infringed on later grants, causing much litigation. A literal interpretation of the Plough Patent would include a large and valuable tract in South-Eastern Maine, taking in the present city of Portland. Armed with this authority the Company bought a small ship, equipped it with ordnance and provisions, and sent its first load of colonists to the new province. Ten or twelve of the "Company of the Plough" formed this little band. They probably reached the Sagadahock in the winter of 1630-1, and found the land wild and sterile. Disheartened at the prospect, they made a feeble attempt at settling there, but after a few weeks or months they gave up the idea, and embarked again in their little vessel for the more fertile and prosperous settlements near Boston. The first record of them is in Winthrop's History, dated July 6th, 1631:—"A small ship of 60 tons arrived at Natascot, Mr. Graves, master. She brought ten passengers from London. They came with a patent for Sagadahock, but, not liking the place, they came hither. Their ship drew ten feet, and went up to Watertown; but she ran on ground twice by the way. These were the Company called 'The Husbandmen' and their ship called *The Plough*." Thus far the original entry in Winthrop's journal; but a later hand (perhaps his own in after years), added this opprobrium,—“Most of them proved familists and vanished away.” That they were “familists” in the offensive German sense, we have no proof except this entry, but perhaps this term may give a clue to the special religious organization which should have bound the Husbandmen together but did not. Their small ship, *The Plough*, after visiting Watertown, dropped back to Charlestown, started thence for the West Indies, but returned after three weeks, “so broke,” Winthrop says, “she could not return home.”

Thus the summer of 1631 found the first colonists of *The Plough* in the Massachusetts Bay, their ship worthless and their ideas of settlement abandoned.

In the meantime the Company in London, imagining that all had gone well with their brethren in New England, went on vigorously with the work. Stephen Bachiler threw all his influence into the scale, and enlisted some of his Hampshire parishioners and

adherents as possible members of the Company. His efforts at this time may have produced the grant of arms referred to in Silvanus Morgan's "Sphere of Gentry" of 1661, one of the most rare and fantastic of early heraldic works. This author says that the arms, "Vert, a plough in fesse; in base the sun rising, Or," "appertain to Stephen Bacheler, the first pastor of the Church of Ligonie in New England; which bearing was answerable to his profession in plowing up the fallow ground of their hearts, and the Sun, appearing in that part of the World, symbolically alluded to his motto 'Sol Justitiæ Exoritur.'" It is worth noting that Morgan in the same volume devotes some space to a handsome plate of the arms of the London Pryaulx family, Bachiler's connections. Among the prospective members of the Plough Company probably brought in by Bachiler was a near kinsman, RICHARD DUMMER, of Bishopstoke, Hants, son of John Pyldrin als. Dummer, of Swathling, Hants, who was a wealthy yeoman or gentleman. A man of substance, Dummer's name gave strength to the Plough Company.

For some unexplained reason the Company in London had not heard by March, 1632, of the failure of their first colony, and we find them pushing the work and straining their narrow fortunes to make it a success. Bachiler had sold his lands in Newton Stacy and invested the proceeds in his new venture. Early in March the second party of Colonists left England, part in the *Whale*, which reached Boston May 26th, 1632, bringing Richard Dummer, Nathaniel Harris, John Smith (son of Francis Smith, a miller), Anthony Jupe, Ann Smith (wife of John Smith who came in *The Plough*) and her daughter, and Nathaniel Merriman, son of George Merriman of London. The *William and Francis*, which left London March 9th, 1632, and reached Boston June 5th, 1632, brought among its sixty passengers Stephen Bachiler and his wife, his grandchild, Nathaniel Bachiler, his three Samborne grandchildren, and several of his Hampshire adherents. It also brought a shipment of Company goods, as will appear later, and two more Company men, Thomas Payne of Sandwich, and John Bannister, a Yorkshireman. Bachiler brought with him a letter from the London Company, which I print in full as giving minute particulars of the Colonization.

Grace, Mercy and Peace be multiplied forever.

London, March the 8th, 1631.

CHRISTIAN BRETHREN: MR. CRISPE, JOHN CERMEN, JOHN SMYTH
AND THE REST OF OUR SOCIETY:

We, as members of the same body send greeting in the name of our Lord and Saviour, hoping and wishing your health as our own; and as at this time we all are, thanks be unto God. Many things we have to write you of but our time hath been so taken up with forwarding, helping and providing things fitting for these our brethren that are now to come unto you that we shall not possibly experience or put that to ink and paper which we desired; we hope that they will relate to you anything material that we fail to write.

And first let us not forget to remember you of your and our duty, tha

we return humble and hearty thanks unto Almighty God, that hath filled the heart of our reverend pastor so full of zeal, of love and extraordinary affection towards our poor society. Notwithstanding all the opposition, all the subtle persuasions of abundance of opposers that have been stirred up against us partly through self-love not affecting the general servitude and partly through that untimely breach of our brother Corman, yet he remaineth constant,—persuading and exhorting,—yea and as much as in him lyeth, constraining all that love him to join together with this society. And seeing the Company is not liable to bear his charge over, he hath strained himself to provide provision for himself and his family, and hath done his utmost endeavor to help over as many as he possibly can, for your further strength and encouragement. And, although it may be if he had stayed one year longer you might have been better provided to have received him, yet through his great care of all your good he will by no means stay longer from you. O let us not forget this unspeakable mercy of God towards us. We hope the Lord will make him an especial instrument to unite you all in true love to God and unto one another; which will be our strongest walls and bulwarks of defence against all our enemies. And we hope you will not forget to show your love unto him and to take notice of the charges he is now at, and to appoint for him and his, as he shall desire, such shares and parts of shares as shall belong unto his for the charges; and that his man-servant and his maid-servant may be received as members of the Company and have such shares or parts as in that case provided for every member. As for his neighbors that now come with him, they promise all to join with you, but because they do desire first to see how you agree together in love they are not joined to our body; and the Lord of his merey grant that there may be no occasion on your parts but they may join with you. Mr. Dummer's promise is also to join with you if there be any reason for it. The Lord unite you all together; then shall you put to shame and silence many that do now shamefully rise up against us.

Thomas Jupe hath also sent you a pledge of his own coming in due time,—his eldest son, upon his last £20 in goods and moneys dispersed for the Company's use. There is also Nathaniel Harrese which we have sent you upon a new adventure of £10 by his father, who is now a Sergeant of the Rolle and a member of the Company. There is also John Smyth, son of Francis Smyth, miller, upon a new adventure of £10 by one John Asten, millman; and there is Nathaniel Merreman upon the adventure of Petter Wouster, being now made up to £10; all which being members of the Company according to their years and abilities, we desire you to receive them and employ them. Two of them are very able to work and we hope you will find them willing. We desire that they should be put to it according to their abilities, and the other two also according to their strength we desire they should be employed. There is also Ann Smith, our brother John Smith's wife and her daughter; she, being encouraged by Mr. Dummer's promise to give her her passage in part, hath resolved to go unto her husband, whom we cannot deny, and have put her upon the old adventure of Mr. Dummer for herself and her daughter.

All these are coming in the *Whale* with Mr. Dummer; they are all furnished with bedding and apparel very sufficiently, and, being all able to labour, we hope will be helpful to the Company. There is also one Thomas Payne of Sandwize, experienced in the making of salt, which hath brought in £10 and is coming in the *William and Francis* whom we desire you to receive as a member of our company; only, in regard that he hath a wife and four small children, which he desireth to be transported 12 months hence,—we have only conditionally received him,—that if between this and that time you do find that he will not be a more help unto the Company than his charge will be hindrance, and if he cannot bring in £20 for his wife and children, that then, he having worked one year for his passage the Company shall give him back his £10 again and so let him shift for himself.

Some provision for these we have sent you; what provision you also want we desire you to take of Mr. Dummer and send us over your commodities, that we may pay both for that and some old debts which we have made hard shift for unto this time. Pray neglect not but by what messenger

soever Mr. Thomas, master of the *William and Francis* doth send over his letters to have his freight paid let us by the same messenger if not before receive some goods from you, for we were constrained to make use of the tonnage money of 20 passengers to pay old debts, until a certificate be sent over.

The goods you shall receive in the *William and Francis* that is the Company's is—

	£	s.	d.
4 hogshheads pease, which cost, cask and all ...	6	5	0
The cask is marked with two plows marked on one head, whereas all other goods have one plow on each head.			
And 12 yards of broadcloth at 5s. 6d. comes unto ...	3	6	0
200 yards of list at 7s. 6d. per 100 (which list we thought it may be good to make Indian Breeches or blankets of; I pray send word if it be a commodity worth sending more of) ...	15	0	
1 fries coat, 1 pr. breeches ...	19	0	

These goods are packed up into hogshheads amongst some of Mr. Bachiller's goods and some things of Thomas Jape which he hath sent upon his particular adventure; so soon as you can sell them there is to the value of £10 ad none (*sic*) as you will see by his particular letters. Mr. Harding hath sent also a parcel of commodities upon his particular, as by his letter you shall receive directions.

We have sent you notice by Mr. Allerton, and we hope you have long since received it, that we have had much to do about our patent; and that there was one Bradshaw that had procured letters patent for a part (as we supposed) of our former grant; and so we think still, but he and Sir Ferdinando think it is not in our bounds. He was frustrate of his first purpose of coming over, but is now joined with two very able captains and merchants, who will set him over, and we suppose will be there as soon as this ship if not before. We cannot possibly relate the labour and trouble we have had to establish our former grant; many rough words we have had from Sir Ferdinando at the first and to this hour he doth affirm that he never gave consent that you should have above 40 miles in length and 20 in breadth and saith that his own hand is not to your patent, if it have any more. So we have shown our good wills and have procured his love and many promises that we shall have no wrong. We bestowed a sugar-loaf upon him of some 16 shillings' price, and he hath promised to do us all the good he can. We can procure nothing under his hand, but in our hearing he gave order unto Mr. Ayres to write unto Captain Neale of Pascatoway, that Bradshaw and we might be bounded, that we may not trouble each other; and hath given the Captain command to search your patent; what it is you have under my Lord's hand and his. This controversy must be ended between yourselves and such governors of their Pemaquid as they have appointed.

We have given Sir Ferdinando this reason why we desired so large a patent,—because that the greatest part of it was not habitable, being rock, where no man could live; and he answered that we should doubt not but he allowed enough for us all, and in the best part of it, according to our desire; but if we should have as much as we say they have granted, then do we include divers of their former plantations, which they never intended. We shall pray to God to direct you and to help you; this business doth require the assistance of all of you to join together in one; we hope the Lord in mercy will so dispose of it.

	£	s.	d.
We have sent in the <i>Whale</i> —			
70 stone of oorn at 10d. and the cartage ...	2	19	8
3 cwt. of cassel, all charges is ...	1	14	0
1 firkin of flour of 5 pecks and a firkin of pease	14	0	

There is also a poor Yorkshire man;—his name is John Banester,—he hath

made such extraordinary mean to come over that Mr. Bachiler and Mr. Dummer have had compassion upon him and paid for his passage. If you think that you will be able to receive him, and do so for the good of it, we do then desire you to let him be the Company's servant, and put him to such employment as you think good, and upon such conditions as you think fit.

Goodman Tamadge and his wife take it very unkindly that you should keep his malt and not let his son have a small quantity of plateware at his request, to be paid at return. How you will answer this unkindness we know not; we do desire you to give no occasions for such unkindness. Here is now the people themselves come unto you we assure you they be very honest plain downright-dealing people; if they find you loving and kind and upright towards them, then will you have their company,—if not I pray consider you will not only lose them, but wonderful discouragement it will be to others for time to come.

It may be upon first view you may suppose them to be a charge, in regard the men look aged and the children young but and by the next ship you will receive our account for the whole year; and so the Lord protect you and defend you for ever and ever.

Your loving brethron,

JOHN DYE
THOMAS JEFFE
GRACE HARDWIN
JOHN ROACH.

The Massachusetts Colony Court had already (October 18th, 1631), ordered that "there should be taken out of the estate of Mr. Crispe and his Company the sum of £12 ls. 5d., and delivered to John Kirman as his proper goods, and that the whole estate be inventoried, whereof the said John Kirman is to have an eighth part." On the arrival of Dummer and Bachiler, the Court further directed (June 5th, 1632) "That the goods of the Company of Husbandmen shall be inventoried by the Beadle, and preserved for the use and benefit of the said Company." We may imagine from this that Crispe, Bryan Binckes, Peter Johnson, with the other one or two of the original emigrants of *The Plough* ship had held together in Boston until Dummer and Bachiler came over. But now the whole matter was discussed, the assets of the Company turned over to the Courts, and Crispe probably started back for England to acquaint the London members with the failure of the Colony. On July 3rd, 1632, three orders were entered by the Court—first, that John Smith (the younger, son of Francis) be apprenticed to Rev. John Wilson; second, that Bryan Binckes and Peter Johnson should bind themselves in £10 that they should not depart out of Massachusetts without leave from the Governor (Winthrop), and should be ready to attend upon the Court when called, to account for the Company's goods in their hands; third, that John Smith should likewise be bound in £10 to be accountable for the Company's goods remaining in his hands.

Dummer and Carman settled in Roxbury, under Rev. John Eliot. Bachiler and his little flock established themselves in Lynn; Binckes and Johnson went to Virginia; and the next record of the Company appears from the following letter, apparently signed by all the London members and sent as soon as Crispe had reported the condition of affairs:—

London, Dec. 1, 1632.

TO THE RIGHT WORSHIPFUL GOVERNOR OF MASSACHUSETTS.

Grace, mercy and peace be multiplied.

RIGHT WORSHIPFUL SIR:

Whereas there has come over from New England of late divers reports of the harsh dealing of Master Dummer against our loving brethren, Bryan Binckes, Petter Johnson and John Smyth, in that he hath not only taken from them that which was left them for their maintenance, by the Company, but also retained that which we sent; and do keep in their hands all that there is left of the Company's and retain it, contrary to that order that we sent over by Master Allerton. And whereas we have received, the day before the writing hereof one letter from John Smyth which doth for the main part justify that which we have heard, and also another from Master Bachiller not denying the same; and having received encouragement by divers that there is justice to be had, we therefore appeal to you for justice.

There is other letters also sent in this ship, which were written three weeks before this, wherein we did by all the power that we have command them to deliver our goods back again to be disposed according to the order of the Company. But being now certified that Bryan Binckes and Petter Johnson are gone to Virginia according to the Company's order, we desire you that whatsoever there is left of the Company's estate should be there sold and returned into England either in bills of exchange or in merchantable notes, unto John Dyc, dwelling in Fillpot Lane, or unto John Roach, Grace Harding or Thomas Juppe, dwelling in Crooked Lane.

These things that are there of the Company's to our knowledge are these,—

First, there is the ordnance with their carriages, four	£	s.	d.
cables and anchors,—which stand us here in England			
little less than ... ..	...	160	0 0
There is also a parcel of izion, sent by Mr.			
Allerton ... ..	...	30	0 0
A parcel of pease ... ..	...	13	0 0
And a parcel of broadcloth and a coat and list ...	...	5	10 0
And a parcel of platewares, of Thomas Juppe's own			
particular adventure ... ..	...	11	16 8
And a parcel of Master Harding's goods ...	...	16	0 0
There was also a parcel of the Company's goods			
retaced by one Muzze ... ..	...	10	0 0

There is much other goods there of the Company's which we cannot give you notice of. We desire you to call John Smyth to account. By his own letter he hath £20 worth of the Company's estate which, although we desire not that it should be presently taken from him, because we pity his poor estate, yet we refer it unto your wise consideration to order it to be disposed towards the payment of Master Bachiller if you see fit, unto whom we do owe £60; it was something more, but the rest we have laid out for him in his freight to the value of £7. We therefore desire that he should be paid £60.

There is goods also to the value of £40, as we are informed, that Master Dummer hath taken from Bryan Binckes and Petter Johnson. There is also the old ship and divers debts owing us which we desire you to call John Smyth to account for. And for as much as there is owing £200 by the Company in London upon bond upon our security, and is yearly a great burden unto us, we desire you therefore that our goods may not longer be there retained; for the debts due upon bond the Company's goods must pay; although we lose all, let them not dishonour God and disgrace religion.

There hath been a great deal of complaint and much evil surmizing about the dealing of our brethren departed to Virginia; but we wish we may have no worse from thence; we have fair account and good reason for what they did; and for profit or loss, God's will be done. We hope that that part of the estate carried away to Virginia will be as well improved for all the

company, according to their proportion as they will improve their own that do so surmize of their brethren; time will try all things.

We desire you further to take notice that when Master Bachiller doubled his adventure and made it £100 it was upon condition that we and Master Dummer should do likewise; we did double our adventure, yet after some further consideration, Mr. Dummer sent his money into the hands of a friend that would not deliver it to us without bond to pay it again. Now, Mr. Dummer promising as well as we to double his adventure and to have a part of the loss (if it so fall out) as this enclosed letter will testify, being the letter of his own hand, sent with the money, we desire to refer ourselves to you there to judge what is fit for him to have. If to venture it as we are constrained to do, then at the end of the term of years we shall be accountable; at the least we think he should bear a part of the loss as well as we. We hope you will be pleased to take this pains for us to put an end to this controversy that is a greater grief unto us than all those other crosses that have befallen us.

There was in all £1,400 of joint stock; of this but the value of £250 carried to Virginia, according to your prising when you paid Carman. We leave all to your Christian wisdom; the Lord direct you. And so we rest:

Your Christian friends, for ourselves and the rest of the
Company of Husbandmen,

JOH: ROBINSON	JOH: CRISPE
DANL. BINCKES	JOHN ROACH
ROGER BINCKES	GRACE HARDWIN
NATH'L WHYTHAM	THO: JUPE
HENRY FLOWKES	JOH: DYE
BRYAN KIPLING.	

The "Harsh dealing of Master Dummer" here referred to probably means that he had, to secure the investment of himself and Bachiler, seized on the patent and what assets the Company had. No Court proceeding appears to have followed the receipt of this letter, but probably Winthrop's justice and wisdom arranged an equitable division of the property.

Bachiler had, in the fall of 1632, come under the displeasure of the Court for some heresies of doctrine. He soon found the Massachusetts Puritans were as rigid in their tenets of religion as the English Church, and they ordered that he "forbear exercising his gifts as a pastor" temporarily. Early in 1633 this prohibition was removed and on June 3rd of that year we find him writing to Winthrop as follows to protest against an unjust seizure of part of the Company's goods.

TO THE RIGHT WORSHIPFUL, MY VERY LOVING FRIEND AND
OUR GOVERNOR, AT HIS HOUSE IN BOSTON, THESE:

The Wisdom of God's spirit direct and guide you in all your affairs, now and forever. Amen.

RIGHT WORSHIPFUL AND MY LOVING FRIEND, MR. GOVERNOR:

I have sent you this enclosed letter from our Company at London to that part of our Company which was then supposed to be here the last year, to certify to you that the four hogsheads of pease (which are assigned to my brother Wilson in the right of the youth that is with him) do no way belong to him, but to me and the rest of our Company,—and, to speak the truth, to me only and properly, by reason of the Company's debt to me which all that I have (by your favour) seized on will not countervayle my debt

by a great deal, in case I could sell the goods presently, which I know not how long they will lie and (be) worse and worse before they may be any satisfaction to me.

The goods which are looked after for the boy came not in the ship wherein these pease came, but, as I take it, in the *Whale*, if any were sent. Beside these pease, coming with my goods in the *William and Francis* (the ship wherein I came) were the 12 yards of cloth mentioned in the letter, and 200 yards of list, etc. I paid both for the tonnage of them to the shipmaster and for the carrying of them from the ship to New Town; the cloth also and the list, I took into my keeping and wear of it. And, wrapping up the letter with many others, forgot to seize upon the pease till within these 8 or 9 days, when, reading over the letter for some cause or other occasion, I lit upon that passage which mentioneth the pease and the cloth of list, etc., whereupon I demanded of my wife, "What became of these pease mentioned?" She answered,—"Certainly they are the pease which lie unowned at New Town," whereupon I sent to compare the marks of the letter with the marks upon the pease horseheads, and found them perfectly to agree; and there understood that the pease, for want of an owner, were, by your authority, committed to my brother to be disposed of in right of his servant; and that this day, being the third of this fourth month, my brother sent me this message, that, forasmuch as these pease were assigned to him by the authority of your Worship and the Court—though he saw the contents of this letter—he would sell them and stand answerable for the money that they yield.

My request is therefore unto you that, forasmuch as the pease do clearly appear to be no goods of the boy's, but to belong to our Company and that I lay claim to them as to the rest, not in respect of my adventure, but for the debt of near an hundred pounds which I lent the Company in as good gold as can be weighed with scales; and that I paid both for the tonnage and freightage of them; and only through forgetfulness left them thus long; and divers other considerations of reason which I forbear for tediousness to urge; that you would be pleased to prevent the withholding of them from the right owners,—at least to stay the sale of them, forasmuch as I have even disposed of part of them and the residue are exceedingly wanting in mine own congregation, who, upon the understanding of the business thus coming to light, have been earnest with me for them, and I have accordingly granted their requests.

There being equity in all that I require, as I trust will appear upon the sight of that passage in the letter, I trust I shall not doubt of your uprightness toward me, and between my brother and me, whose care for his servant I do much approve, though I cannot see the means which he useth to recover his servant's doubtful goods to be so right as I could wish. For my part, were it my case, as it is his, I should easily yield upon the sight of such evidence as I conceive doth appear, that the goods can no way belong to him.

One thing more; whereas I understand that you put apart the last day of this week for inquiry of God to discover a great and difficult secret, we will, by God's grace, assist you upon that day in like manner. And thus, with my loving service and Christian respect unto you; with mine and my wife's hearty salutations to your blessed and beloved yoke-fellow, I cease any further to trouble you, and rest at your service and commandment in Christ, His most unworthy servant,

STEPHEN BACHILER.

Sir,—I understand since the writing of my letter that it is conceived that the goods of the boy came wholly or in part to me,—which if it may but probably appear, I will make 7 fold satisfaction; verily it is not so. Neither did I (but my wife) meddle with mine own goods; and my wife saith from Mrs. Smyth of Watertown that the boy's father and an uncle of his or some such friend, did venture £10 into the Company with the boy. So that I cannot conceive how any such goods should be ex . . . d; but for my part I claime them and these goods belonging to our Company.

No further mention of the Plough Company appears on the Massachusetts Court Records, except that on April 7th, 1635, Captain Traske was ordered "to pay to John Kerman out of the estate of the Company of Husbandmen the sum of £24 11s. 5d., being the remainder of the eighth part given by the Court to Kerman," it being noted that if the total assets of the Company failed to equal £250, Kerman was to make restitution.

Dummer took an active part in the affairs of the Massachusetts Colony. He was an adherent of Sir Henry Vane, and in 1636 was "disarmed" for his espousal of the Antinomian ideas of Anne Hutchinson, and moved to Newbury. All this time Dummer seems to have held the Plough Patent, but in 1638, when he returned to England to bring to America his brother, nephew and niece, he took the patent with him, and, we presume, delivered it to the remaining members of the Company. In a petition to the Massachusetts General Court in 1688, Jeremy Dummer stated that "his father, Richard Dummer, was wholly intrusted with the Plough Patent and the management of sundry concerns relating to the same, by virtue of a power derived from the patentees; and thereafter (in 1638) the said Patent being ordered home for England, the patentees granted him 800 acres and more, laid out at Casco Bay."

Between 1632 and 1638 the terms of the Plough Patent were discovered by George Cleeve, an ambitious man who early settled on Casco Bay. He found that the original patentees had abandoned the colony, and thereupon induced them to sell their grant. The Commonwealth party was then dominant in England, and Gorges was in disfavor. A Puritan Commander, Alexander Rigby, purchased the Patent, and in 1643 appointed Cleeve as his Deputy-Lieutenant of the Province of Lygonia.

This transaction is thus described in the Abstract of Title above referred to as drawn up by Turfrey:—"John Dye and John Smyth, Thomas Jupe and others, survivors of Bryan Binckes and others their associates, do on the 7 of April, 1643, grant unto Alexander Rigby of Rigby in Lancashire, the said Province of Lygonia, etc. The said Alexander Rigby makes several leases and grants of several parcels of land within the said Province of Lygonia; and expends valuable sums of money; and draws up constitutions which were on the 30 of July, 1644, confirmed by the Earl of Warwick and others, by which Alexander Rigby and his heirs and assigns are appointed Presidents of the Province of Lygonia."

Cleeve attempted to enforce these claims upon the Casco settlers and to attach Bachiler and Dummer to his cause by asking the former to become pastor of the settlement on Casco Bay; but he met with determined opposition from the Massachusetts authorities, who desired control of the whole Province of Maine. The case was appealed to England, and the result appears thus in Turfrey's Abstract:—"There arising some difference as to bounds between Alexander Rigby and John Gorges, son and heir of Sir Ferdinando Gorges, the same was heard by the Earl of Warwick and the then

Commissioner for settling affairs of foreign plantations, and they did, by deed in writing, 27 March 1645, adjudge that the title of the Province of Ligonza was in the said Rigby and his heirs and all the inhabitants were commanded to submit to the government and jurisdiction of the said Rigby."

Continued opposition was made, and resulted in much litigation, until the whole Province of Maine was granted to Massachusetts in 1686. This finally wiped out the Plough Patent, which disappears from view. If success seems to have been the fate of most of the companies formed for colonizing New England. Chalmers and Egerton, in their Histories of British Colonies dwell at some length on this fact. George's and Mason's colonies likewise failed, so that the luckless Plough Colony had abundance of company in its misfortunes.

Having thus recited the history of the Patent, let us turn to the individual members and colonists of the Company and trace what little is known of them.

We left Bachiler in Fenn, where he set up a church for himself and the few adherents who had followed him to the New World. Here he heard his daughter Theodate and her husband, Christopher Hussey, who had come to America in 1631. After four years of conflict with the Bay authorities, Bachiler moved to Ipswich and then to Newbury, having "laid down the ministry." At Newbury were his kinsmen Deane and Hussey, and others from Bachiler's part of England; and after two years this stout old Dissenter, at the age of 80 conceived the idea of starting a plantation of his own a day's march further north. Accordingly, in 1638-9, the plantation was begun, and in 1639, at Bachiler's request and in honour of the English City of Southampton, it was called Hampton. Among the new settlers were many Suffolk men, and one of these, Timothy Dalton, A.M. of St. John's College, Cambridge, was chosen as Bachiler's assistant. Open conflict resulted between these two men, both able and obstinate. The culmination of the whole matter was a charge of immorality made, in 1641, against Bachiler. This charge—so difficult to disprove, so easily made—was probably without real foundation, but it resulted in Bachiler's excommunication. He was opposed to the existing authorities, was a man of great ability and iron will, outspoken and passionate; they feared him, and wreaked their vengeance on him. Immediately he was urged by two other parishes to become their pastor, but he refused to go until, by public trial, he was vindicated. Writing to Governor Winthrop late in 1643, he said:

"I see not how I can depart hence" (that is from Hampton, to accept one of the calls he had received, to Casco and to Exeter), "till I have, or God for me, cleared and vindicated the cause and wrongs I have suffered of the church I yet live in; that is, from the Teacher, who hath done all and been the cause of all the dishonor that hath accrued to God, shame to myself, and grief to all God's people, by his irregular proceedings and abuse of the power of the church in his hands—by the major part cleaving to him, being his countrymen and acquaintance in old England. My cause, though looked shrilly into by diverse Elders and brethren, could never come to a judicial searching forth of things, and an impartial trial of his

allegations and my defence; which, if yet they might, I am confident before God, upon certain knowledge and due proof before yourselves the Teacher's act of his excommunicating me (such as I am, to say no more of myself), would prove the foulest matter,—both for the cause alleged of that excommunication, and the impulsive cause,—even wrath and revenge. Also, the manner of all his proceeding throughout, to the very end, and lastly his keeping me still under bonds,—and much worse than here I may mention for divers causes,—than ever was committed against any member of a church. Neglecting of the complaints of the afflicted in such a State,—wherein Magistrates, Elders, and brethren all are in the sincerest manner set to find out sin, and search into the complaints of the poor,—not knowing father, nor mother, church nor Elder,—in such a State, I say,—in such a wine-cellar to find such a cockatrice, and not to kill him,—to have such monstrous proceedings passed over, without due justice,—this again stirs up my spirit to seek for a writ *ad melius inquirendum*. Towards which the enclosed letter tendeth, as you may perceive. Yet if your wisdoms shall judge it more safe and reasonable to refer all my wrongs (conceived) to God's own judgment, I can submit myself to be overruled by you. To conclude,—if the Apostle's words be objected, that this is thanksworthy if a man for conscience' sake shall endure grief, suffering wrongfully,—and therefore I ought to endure, without seeking any redress or justice against the offender,—I profess it was more absolutely necessary so to suffer, when the Church had no civil power to seek unto, than in such a land of righteousness as our New England is."

This public hearing was denied him, and though his excommunication was soon withdrawn, he left Hampton, broken down with the weight of his persecutions. As an evidence of the respect in which he was held, he was just before this chosen referee in a dispute between Trelawney and Cleeve as to boundaries in Maine. The Rev. Robert Jordan, writing to an English friend about the trial, says:—"Mr. Stephen Bachiler was, I must say, a grave, reverend and a good man; but whether more inclined to justice or mercy, or whether carried aside by secret insinuations, I must refer to your own judgment. Sure I am that Cleeve is well nigh able to disable the wisest brain." Considering that this letter, written July 31st, 1642, is that of the defeated party, and that Jordan was well placed to know what his real character was, a year after the slanders against him, there could be few testimonials more convincing.

Bachiler settled in Portsmouth and contracted an unfortunate third marriage, at the age of 36, with a woman of 40. He soon discovered the character of this adventuress, and prayed for a divorce, which the Massachusetts authorities with great injustice denied.

After twenty years of life in New England, Bachiler found himself, at the age of 90, poor and dishonored. His effort to seek peace in America from the persecutions of the Bishops had brought him renewed conflict with a bitter and bigoted sect. His house, library and goods, had been destroyed by fire. The Plough Company, from which he had hoped so much, failed and cost him a large sum of money. He was linked to a woman whose immorality had been proved in Court, but from whom he could not obtain a divorce. He determined to return to England and end his days there, and left America in 1654 with his grandson Stephen Samborne. Tradition says he died at Hackney in 1660.

Returning to the other members of the Plough Company, the following record gives in alphabetical order the names of all whom we know to have been of that connection, and recites all that is found concerning them.

AUSTEN, JOHN. An English "millman." Apparently a member of the Company. Sent over John Smyth the younger in 1632.

BANISTER, JOHN. "A poor Yorkshire man"; sent in *William and Francis*, 1632, by Bachiler and Dummer.

BINCKES, BRYAN. Perhaps an original patentee; certainly a colonist in *The Plough* in 1630. Went to Virginia in 1632. Probably a brother of the two next mentioned, perhaps a London man (the name is found in London Registers).

BINCKES, DANIEL. Signed the second Company letter printed above.

BINCKES, ROGER. Signed the second Company letter printed above. (*Query.* Is he the Roger Binckes who was a Paymaster in Cromwell's army?)

CARMAN, or KERMAN, JOHN. An original colonist on *The Plough*, 1630. Settled in Roxbury, and was deputy to Massachusetts Court, 1635 and 1636. Moved to Hempstead, L. I. Obtained from the Massachusetts Court one-eighth of the Company's goods.

CRISPE, JOHN. An original member and patentee. Came over in *The Plough* 1630, and returned in 1632 to England. Signed the second Company letter printed above. (*Query.* Was he the John Crispe, a relative of Sir Nicholas Crispe, who was afterwards a merchant adventurer to Africa?)

DYE, JOHN. An original member and patentee; but never came to America. A London merchant, living in Philpot Lane near the headquarters of the Virginia Company. Signed both the Company's letters printed herein. Probably the John Dye, whose name appears in the Registers of St. Thomas the Apostle. Mentioned in will of Nicholas Jupe, 1653.

FROWKES, HENRY. Signed the second Company letter printed above.

HARDWIN, GRACE. An original member. Signed both Company letters printed above. A wax-chandler, living in Crooked Lane. He and his wife are mentioned in will of Mildred Hitch.

HARRIS, NATHANIEL. Sent to New England in the *Whale*, 1632, by his father, "a Sergeant of the Rolle and a member of the Company." No further record.

JOHNSON, PETER. An original colonist on *The Plough*, 1630. Went to Virginia in 1632.

JUPE, ANTHONY. Son of Thomas Jupe. Came over in the *Whale*, 1632. Lived in Boston with his uncle, Captain Robert Keayne, founder of the Ancient and Honorable Artillery Company of Boston. Mentioned in will of his uncle, Nicholas Jupe of London, 1653, and in the will of Capt. Keayne.

JUPE, THOMAS. A London merchant, living in Crooked Lane; perhaps of the Cornwall family of Jope. Signed both the Company letters printed herein. Married Grace, sister of Captain Robert Keayne of Boston. Sent his son Anthony to New England in 1632. At their father's death all three children of Thomas Jupe came to live with their uncle, Capt. Keayne.

KIPLING, BRYAN. Signed the second Company letter printed above.

MERRIMAN, NATHANIEL. Son of George Merriman, of London, cooper. Came to New England on the *Whale*. Moved to Wallingford, Conn., and became a prominent settler there.

PAYNE, THOMAS. Of Sandwich, Kent. A salt maker. Came in *William and Francis*, 1632. Settled in Lynn, Mass.

ROACH or ROCH, JOHN. Signed both the Company letters printed herein. Lived in Crooked Lane.

ROBINSON, JOHN. Signed both the Company letters printed above.

SMITH, JOHN the elder. An original colonist on *The Plough*, 1630. Wife Ann and daughter came on the *Whale*, 1632. Vanishes among the many other Smiths.

SMITH, JOHN the younger. Son of Francis Smith, miller. Came on the *Whale*, 1632. Servant to Rev. J. Wilson in Watertown.

TALMAGE, WILLIAM. An original colonist on *The Plough*, 1630. Son of Thomas Talmage, of Hants, and nephew of John Talmage, of Newton Stacy, Hants, probably a parishioner of Stephen Bachiler. Settled in Roxbury and Lynn, Mass.

WHETHAM, NATHANIEL. Signed the second Company letter printed above.

WOOSTER, PETER. A member of the Company; sent Nathaniel Merriman to New England in 1632.

V. C. SANBORN
(of Kenilworth, Illinois, U.S.A.).

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